MESSAGES TO COMPANIONS

[redacted]RUGGLE

[redacted] Neto, President
Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola

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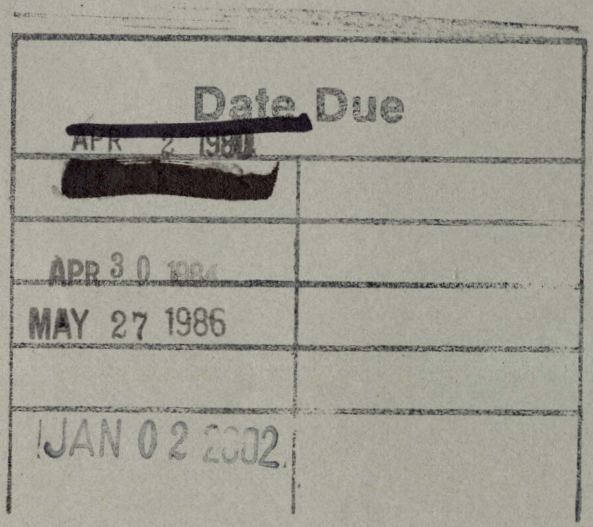

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MESSAGES TO COMPANIONS IN THE STRUGGLE

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Companions in the Struggle,
Comrades,
It is with great pleasure that I take this opportunity, offered by the External Service of Radio Tanzania, to send you this message -- a message that is destined not only for our Angolan compatriots and comrades of the MPLA but also our brave companions in struggle in Mozambique who, under the banner of FRELIMO, raise high the flame of revolt against Portuguese colonial occupation.

United in the same combat, the people of the Portuguese colonies of Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique and Angola have inflicted innumerable defeats upon the enemy, especially in recent times. The areas controlled by the guerrillas are continuously growing. The new life in these areas is advancing and, in the process, opening up roads towards the restoration of our peoples' independence that was lost in past centuries, and also their dignity and just place in the world.

Thus it is that, in order to achieve common objectives, the movements directing the struggles in these countries that are still dominated by Portugal are united and cooperate closely, while respecting the differences that exist in the specific conditions of each country. In general, however, what is certain is that our struggle will not stop developing and progressing.

The cooperation of the people of the present Portuguese colonies in this phase and also in the future is and will be absolutely essential not only for the conquest of independence but also during the phase of national reconstruction.

Fortunately, we already have before us the experience of Africa after the independence of the countries of our continent that were dominated by imperialism. If, on the one hand, this experience has shown many positive aspects, it is evident that, in other ways, it has revealed weaknesses -- one of the principal being the general economic dependence in relations with the former metropolitan countries, the effect of which is to impede access to complete independence.

This experience must stimulate us, who are fighting with

arms in hand, to look for more advanced and much more effective forms of organization in order to achieve our purpose: complete independence. The blood that is being shed by the best of the sons of our countries, and the efforts of each guerrilla and of every one of our people, must not be spent in vain, in methods that are inappropriate for organization in the present and inadequate for administration in the future. It is necessary that the real control of the country, whether from the political, economic or social point of view, be in the hands of the people who are devoted to the struggle, and not in the fists of bureaucrats who -- it could be said in passing -- are dishonest and not always those who will be found or are, today, to be found in the battle-field. Much less could we allow foreigners to continue to exploit our peoples; for imperialism to extend its clutches over our countries and subjugate them in neo-colonialism. We have to fight for complete independence!

There is no doubt that for complete independence, political, economic and social, and for our peoples to really be the masters of their own destiny, it is necessary that we provide ourselves with the appropriate instruments for action. In the present phase, it is necessary that the struggle be completely under the orientation of an independent party with well-defined ideas; that its militants be disciplined and absorb fully the doctrine of their party. It is necessary that the leaders themselves be honest, modest and active, and that they do not spare their efforts for the good orientation and organization of their people. It is necessary that they be always at the side of their people, with them in their suffering and in their daily sacrifices.

One of the more debated problems of recent times is the presence in our territories of Portuguese, or the descendants of Portuguese, whose ideas coincide with ours, whose lives have been dedicated to the struggle against fascism in Portugal, and who understand and accept the right of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies to regain their independence and self-government, like any other sovereign people.

On this point we have sometimes observed negative reactions on the part of some of our combatants and of our

friends. It is those negative attitudes that can prejudice and deter the success of our struggle for freedom. I speak of the problem of racialism.

In our countries we are not making a racial war. Our objective is not to fight against the white man solely because he is white. It is that we fight those who support the colonial regime. All those in our territories who show raised unarmed hands, or who show themselves willing to give their collaboration to the guerrillas, providing them with foodstuffs and products that are unavailable in the forests; all those who in any manner show their desire not to cooperate with the colonial regime must not be despised or treated as enemies. They constitute a force that operates in our favor, in the same way as on the international plane. There we do not seek support only in the countries of Africa south of the Sahara, called Black Africa, where the skin of the inhabitants is darker; but we also go to look for the aid of countries of No. Africa, where the people have a light skin. We go even further to Europe to look for political, diplomatic and material help from countries where the majority of the population have white color, and in other continents where the racial differences are even more evident. If, on account of racial differences, we despise that formidable force that is represented by progressives of the whole world, and by the underdeveloped countries, we will only be digging our own grave.

Our struggle is not an isolated struggle in the world. It is part of a global struggle by humanity to bring an end to the exploitation of man by man, and it is within this framework that we must view our struggle - outside the narrow limits of racial prejudice.

Therefore, we invite the Portuguese, the sons of Portuguese people, who are in uniform and armed in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), to desert the ranks of the colonialist army and not to soil their hands with the blood of innocent men, women and children whose only objective is to be free - acting in the same manner as did the heroic Portuguese themselves during the Arab occupation of Spain. Instead of assassinating defenceless people, they must raise

their arms in surrender when confronted by the guerrillas of MPLA, FRELIMO or PAIGC. They will be received as men and will be given the choice of a destination in those countries that accept political refugees. Or better still, we make an appeal to the Portuguese to desert with their arms and cross to the side of the nationalists, avoiding the shame of participating in an unjust war that is as dirty as the war in Vietnam.

During the course of the war in Angola, MPLA have had occasion to admit to neighboring countries some Portuguese who had deserted. And there, in various countries, some of them are actively engaged in struggle against the Salazar regime, while others go about their work so that they and their families may live in peace.

Therefore, if there still exists in some of our combatants the idea of a war against the white man, it is necessary that it be immediately substituted by the idea of a war against colonialism and against imperialism; a war against oppression, for the liberty and for the dignity of all men in the world. This idea will fortify our struggle. It will offer more guarantees and new prospectives that open up a brilliant future for all men. In a time of hatred we will have fraternity and understanding.

I do <u>not</u> wish to say, comrades and dear companions in the struggle, that we must be weak, that we do not have to train hard and inflict the bravest pos - sible blows upon the racists who desire to dominate the African people; that we have to be complacent with the agents of PIDE or with the settlers organized into militias. Absolutely not! To those only one language is applicable. Only one justice is possible. Only one law of war can be adopted. They have to be liquidated, for they are the bulwarks of colonialist exploitation.

But we must not confuse friends and enemies. We have to take care in differentiating - to chose, to distinguish who are our friends and who are our enemies.

At times it is precisely our enemies who keep us from friends, taking advantage of our political naivete or our weaknesses - one of which could be racial prejudice. Where there does not exist a clear idea on this subject, the imperialist enemy can easily separate us from our friends and we could even liquidate, with our own hands, valuable forces within our own ranks.

There was a time, between 1961 and 1963, when reactionary forces commanded by imperialism showed themselves active in the north of our country and thousands of coloreds and assimilados were assassinated only because they were coloreds or assimilados. In this way, we lost thousands of men, women and children, almost all of whom were sincere patriots and combatants, ardent for our cause of liberation.

This happened only because the imperialists were able to inculcate in the mentality of politically-unclear combatants the idea that all those who had slightly lighter skin or who know how to speak Portuguese or still had to serve in the colonial administration were necessarily traitors who were not able and had not the right to fight for independence. It was the Angolan nationalist forces who suffered from this -- losing precious lives, important cadres for the revolution and for the future life of the country. They were victims who were added to the victims of the colonialists themselves.

But the germs that produced such deviations from our line of political action are not only originated by imperialism. They derive also from ourselves, and therefore we have also to combat our weaknesses and our deficiencies; combat all that is negative in ourselves, in our militants, in our combatants. At times, what generates that hatred based upon skin color is ambition -- the desire to secure for himself a good place in the future.

And from racialism to tribalism it is only one step.

Within our organization, the MPLA, we rigorously fight against such defects. The ambitious, the presumptuous, those who provoke disturbances and slanders in order to be able to occupy posts that they frequently do not

deserve or are not even able to fill properly -- these are denounced before the militants and before the entire people.

It is also by fighting in this sphere of combat -- in the ideological formation of men and in the political education of the militants -- that we will be able to guarantee for our future a life that is truly free.

In our parties we must, therefore, look for a political line that could save us from racialism and tribalism and from the mistakes that were committed in those countries where independence came earlier and by other means.

Fortunately, for those who fight on the side of justice and against tyranny, for those who desire freedom, armed action is not only a sacrifice, it is above all a FORCE. It is not only the irrigation of our battlefields with the blood of the best sons of our peoples. It is also a school -- a means by which the people continue this struggle in the future, after political independence, in order to be completely free -- politically, economically and socially independent.

The experience of Africa has taught us many things. Amongst those, we can cite one more -- the lesson that the party must control the life of the country during every moment. The strength that gave us arms with which to defend ourselves from foreign occupation will also able to guarantee true independence in the future. And it is necessary that the party be built up, that it constitute the backbone, the base and the principal element in the life of the nation...and that it be independent. Where there is no party, where the militants are not placed under a strict discipline, where the leaders are not bound to revolutionary principles -- there anarchy enters. There the enemies penetrate more easily, and instead of independence we will have neo-colonialism or an insecure balance between progress and reaction.

And that we do not want! We want complete independence.

At the beginning of this message I spoke about the existing union between the organizations directing the armed

struggle in the countries dominated by Portugal, namely FRELIMO, PAIGC and MPLA, or between the peoples of Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Angola. This union is just and necessary, and the forms of our cooperation in the struggle must be perfected because our enemies also coordinate their activities. Nobody is ignorant of the support given by the NATO countries to help Portugal continue her unjust war. No one is now ignorant of the fact that the struggle in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) could have already ended victoriously for the respective peoples were it not for the material and other help rendered to Portugal by the imperialists united in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It is the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Great Britain and certain other countries which sustain Portugal.

Yet another danger, however, is appearing and is already taking concrete form in certain spheres -- the intervention of the racist regime of South Africa -- hated by all honest Africans for its violent oppression of the Non-White people of that country. The alliance between these reactionaries and those of Rhodesia with the Portuguese fascist government holds a very great danger for the people of Angola and Mozambique. In South Africa there is open discussion, in the press and over the radio, of direct intervention in Angola and Mozambique against our peoples. Clearly, if that aggression takes place, the South African racists will learn from their own experience what the Portuguese already know. They will have many corpses to bury. They will have many families in mourning, as in Portugal. They will have many vehicles destroyed and many planes downed. And in the end they will know the shame of defeat, because in this war victory can belong only to our peoples. That victory will be the victory of our peoples and of the whole world over the disgrace of colonialism. It is this that the arrogant South African racists will learn, despite all their aggressiveness and technical potential.

One of the most appropriate weapons to enable us to repel this danger is precisely the consolidation of our unity, extending it to other peoples who also suffer from the same oppression. But, this unity must be completely free from hostile influences -- completely free!

Now, I will address myself especially to many Angolan compatriots, to the comrades of our movement, our beloved MPLA, and to the combatants who, on various fronts, are giving the finest examples of courage, spirit of sacrifice and dedication in this hard war. This war that is full of incidents -- some of which are discouraging but the greater majority of which are full of satisfying encouragement. The progress that has been made by our guerrillas is clear in their putting into practice of the slogan of generalising the war throughout the national territory. When the Portuguese say that the guerrillas have not yet reached the central regions of the country...it means that the guerrillas are already there. Those who want to mislead the Portuguese people, blinding them to the truth, only fall into ridicule, because the Portuguese population knows that the guerrillas are established in the center of the country, and knows that very soon they will reach the urban centers where, as yet, there are not military-type activities. We can guarantee to the "Honorable" representatives of the colonial administration that they will shortly experience more heavily and more extensively the effects of the actions of our armed forces. And then it will be not only the center but also the South and the North that will know a period of struggle, of much more difficulty and of much more blood for the miserable colonialists.

It is not difficult to unmask the liars of the colonial government in Angola who are endeavouring to blindfold their settlers and world public opinion. On the one hand, they say that the guerrillas cannot advance, and yet, on the other hand, in the districts where there is armed warfare, all the Angolan inhabitants are forcedly controlled by means of certificates of residence. These certificates are compulsory as much in Moxico as in Bié, as much in Uige as in Malange; and very shortly there will be decrees and orders making these certificates compulsory in Huila and in Mocamades, in Cuanza Sul and in Huambo. The war will be generalized.

They tell us that their armed forces are in high morale; yet it is publically debated within the colonial regime whether the great merchants should give up only their rings or must sacrifice also their fingers in order to

protect their property. There is opposition between the military and the civilians because, while the military risk their precious lives,the masters of theft and exploitation are involved in accumulating property, in luxurious carefree living, and in intoxicating themselves with cheap (or at times expensive) pleasures, in order to forget the misery of the colonial war. The Portuguese soldier is nothing but cannon fodder for the defense of the wealth of the masters of exploitation.

On the one hand,it is said that almost nothing exists in Angola, that there is peace; and yet, on the other hand, they so fear that the Angolan people will support the guerrillas that they compel them to live in encampments close to the barracks. There is no trust between the Portuguese and the Angolan population, and there are hundreds of men who leave these encampments to go to live in the forests where they are already building a free life under the leadership of MPLA.

The desperation of the colonialists will shortly be greater as the technical resources of MPLA become more complete and greater in volume. The organization is continually broadening. The men are more clear in guerrilla tactics and have more political experience. The morale of the Portuguese troops can best be illustrated by the desperate cry of that poor soldier (perhaps the son of a peasant or of a worker) who, during the attack by our forces on Karipande Barracks, abandoned his shelter, weeping and calling for his beloved mother, full of fear or remorse. Shame! Thus it is, almost always, that the courage and conviction of the Portuguese soldier fighting in Angola is expressed.

To all of them, to the cowards and to the fanatics, we say: there is only one way to stop this shameful situation. That way is to recognize the right of our people to independence;to abandon repression and establish just relations between our peoples -- the Angolan people and the Portuguese people.

The Portuguese colonialists and their allies have spread to the four corners of the land the rumour that the war in Cabinda is paralyzed because Ameri-

can dollars have had their effect upon MPLA. We want to make it perfectly clear that, in this war, it is neither MPLA nor the Angolan people who have sold their colonies. It is the miserable Portuguese Government that has mortgaged and sold their colonies and even their own country. It is the Portuguese fascists who are granting more and more facilities to foreign investors, to the disadvantage of the Portguese people (this Portuguese people of glorious traditions) who gain nothing from the transactions.

Who exploits the iron-ore in Angola? The Germans! Who exploits the petroleum? The Americans and the Belgians! And to whom does the Benguela Railway belong? To the English! Who owns the Diamond Company? The Americans, the Belgians, the French and the English! Who exploits the petroleum in the district of Cabinda? The Americans! And in the metropolitan country itself, the Portuguese people know very well, despite the camouflaged forms of exploitation, that there are parts of Portuguese territory that are not under their control, that are mortgaged, parts where the Portuguese do not command, but obey the dollar: it is so in the Azores, in Beja and in a considerable part of the tourist industry...

Who is it, then,who is sold to foreigners in order to be able to continue with their shameful politics? It is only the Portuguese fascists. MPLA, the vanguard of the Angolan people, who fight honorably with arms in hand, has not sold itself. We accept nothing in exchange for our independence! Victory or death! Victory is certain!

If the rhythm of the struggle has slackened recently in Cabinda, this is not due to any kind of compromise made by MPLA. It is due, on the one hand, to the necessity of generalizing the war, on which account we sent to other regions leaders and political and military cadres who, during a certain period, had functioned exclusively in Cabinda. And it is due, on the other hand, to the action of counter-revolutionaries, called the "Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile". They provided a good agent for the enemy when they sent Alexander Taty, who, making use of tribalis-

tic arguments, has placed himself at the service of the Portuguese.

In the same way, if it were not for the counter-revolutionaries in the north of Angola, the Portuguese would now be feeling the effects of guerrilla war not only in Calomboloca and Caxito, but in the streets of Luanda. But now, fortunately, the counter-revolution is in its death's agony. The collaborationists and their colonialist patrons will be smashed together.

There exist today areas inside our country controlled by MPLA. In one of these areas the Headquarters of our movement is established.

At this juncture, I wish to repeat the appeal to all Angolan nationals who are refugees in neighbouring countries -- in Congo (Kinshasa), Congo (Brazzaville), Zambia, Botswana and Southwest Africa -- to return to the areas controlled by MPLA, there to make their contribution to the struggle, to fight the enemy, to repopulate the territory.

Angolans must return to Angola, to the areas controlled by MPLA and there live a truly free life, within the hardships of struggle.

Students, men trained in Universities or Technical schools must return to the country and there make their contribution to the war. With regard to students it is necessary to seriously counter the opportunistic arguments that some put forward in order to conceal their desire not to participate in the war and work with the people -- to escape danger. They want to live a good life on foreign scholarships which they earn through the reputation won by the combatants in our country.

I repeat the appeal to all men and women who find themselves in the interior of our country to redouble their activities, whether underground or in the liberated zones. It is necessary that there be no point in Angola where the Portuguese do not feel the effects of the war.

Working Together in Defense of Justice

"The African liberation movements are conscious that they are defending in their countries the common cause of humanity".

Mr. Chairman,

Comrades in Struggle,

It is for me a very great pleasure to address the distinguished Heads of State and Government at this Third Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, to fulfill the task entrusted to me by the representatives of the authentic African national liberation movements: the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), the South West African People's Organisation of Namibia (SWAPO), the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the African Independence Party of Guiné and Cape Verde (PAIGC), the National Liberation Front of the Somali Coast (FLCS), and the National Liberation Front of the Comores (MOLINACO). This opportunity to state our opinions and describe the conditions in our countries we consider a tribute to the heroic struggle of our peoples for independence, democracy and peace. Further,we deem it a just appreciation of our position in the world today on the part of the non-aligned countries gathered here in Lusaka.

Clearly the major concern of the distinguished delegates assembled here is the problem of decolonization and the liquidation of racial oppression.

We believe that the characteristic of this historical period is the confrontation of irreconcilable forces. On one side are the forces fighting in defense of the peace, independence and freedom of their peoples; on the other side are the forces trying to neutralise this historic process leading to freedom and social progress, i.e. the forces of colonialism, imperialism, and racism.

The problems arising from this confrontation are extremely acute, as much in Africa as in Asia and other continents.

The situation in Southeast Asia, especially in Indochina, where the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people against US aggression stands out with vigor and beauty, as well as the struggle of the peoples of

Cambodia and Laos and also Korea, the struggle of the Palestinian people and all Arab peoples against Israel's aggression,the struggle of the Latin American peoples against regimes submissive to American imperialism, and also the demands of the Afro-American population, often drowned in blood,are all expressions of this confrontation.

On our continent we are openly resisting colonialism and racism. The armed struggle of the peoples in the Portuguese colonies is constantly advancing. Facing the most anachronistic type of colonialism, the patriotic liberation forces are steadily extending their zones of influence: in Guiné (Bissau) more than two-thirds of the country is under the PAIGC's effective control; in Mozambique the districts of Niassa and Cabo Delgado, more than a fifth of the territory, are under FRELIMO's control; and in Angola the MPLA controls more than a third of the total area.

In Namibia SWAPO is developing sustained action for the reconquest of rights usurped from its people. In Zimbabwe the ANC and ZAPU have joined together their liberation operations. South Africa's racist forces, however, have intervened to counter this co-operation.

And for obvious reasons this very same South Africa is becoming more and more involved in the colonial war in Angola and Mozambique, providing the Lisbon government with economic, technical and military aid.

However,this has not prevented our peoples from building an independent life in the liberated areas of the Portuguese colonies by means of the organisation of defense, production, education and medical care. Moreover, at no time have the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia ceased to fight by all possible means for the liquidation of the violent racial and economic oppression of a minority which does not conceal its expansionist aims.

The non-aligned countries are perfectly aware of this situation and they support our struggle. Their statements here have assured us that we are indeed working together in defense of justice.

However, the Portuguese colonialists have not yet been disarmed. The racist minority regimes have not yet been defeated. Our action must therefore be sustained.

Since most countries in the world are on our side, the African liberation movements are conscious that they are defending in their countries the common cause of humanity. Ours is a common fight. And our solidarity - on the Guinē, Angola and Mozambique fronts, in the struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, the Somali Coast and the Comore Islands - also helps sustain the stability and security of the already independent African countries. I should like then to stress a few factors which might be of help in more effectively advancing this common struggle for the independence of our peoples, their freedom and progress.

Our material needs are well-known. Essentially they relate to funds, military equipment, transport facilities and the necessities for reconstruction in the liberated areas.

There is a scandalous disproportion between the financial means of the enemy we are facing in Southern Africa (Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia) and those of the liberation movements. Our inferiority in terms of military equipment is flagrant. Despite this, however, effective control of the liberated areas and the steady expansion of combat fronts are clear proof of the determination and firmness with which we are fighting to win or die for our countries, our peoples, our independence and dignity.

For our common cause, for our freedom,we appeal to the countries represented here for concrete aid in arms and funds to meet our most pressing material needs.

The armed struggle we are waging does not allow us to go from conference to conference, from country to country, without precise objectives. War is not compatible with the oratorical slowness of eloquent speeches or with the time bureaucratically intervening between intention and decision, between decision and implementa-

tion. War is something immediate. Its needs are immediate and practical. Therefore, immediate action is required. We therefore repeat our appeal for immediate action from the non-aligned countries.

We think it appropriate at this Conference of Non-Aligned Countries to recall the wish expressed by the eminent Heads of State and Government that one should not confine oneself to resolutions. We expect from Your Excellencies concrete solidarity according to the actual possibilities of each country.

We hail the Conference's decision to receive in this hall and hear the delegation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. The PRG of South Vietnam is the genuine expression of the people of South Vietnam; that its voice should be heard here, in full,is for us all both a requirement and an honor.

We hail the Cambodian Government led by Prince Norodim Sihanouk,which is the true government of the Cambodian people and which adheres to the principles and political positions in defense of which we are assembled here.

As regards the African national liberation movements which are acting consistently for our liberation,which control regions of our territories and which have popular support in each of our countries, they are entitled to the recognition of their legal personalities in the community of nations.

This is the meaning of the recommendations of the Rome Conference in Solidarity with the struggles led by FRELIMO in Mozambique, MPLA in Angola and the PAIGC in Guine (Bissau), recognized by 177 delegations from 64 countries as the true representatives of the peoples they are leading in their armed struggles for independence and national reconstruction.

By receiving leaders of the liberation movements of these three countries to express to them the Catholic Church's support for the peoples still suffering colonial domination and racial oppression, his Holiness Pope Paul VI made the resolution of the Rome Confer-

ence more universal.

The recognition of the authentic liberation movements by each of the non-aligned countries as the true and legitimate representatives of their peoples, with all that this implies, notably the authority to be heard on matters concerning their own countries,would, then, be a simple act of justice.

This attitude should then be taken to the United Nations, where, as at this Conference, the illegality of the Portuguese presence in our countries should be declared and the Security Council forced to implement to the letter Articles 41 and 42 of the UN Charter. Since the colonialist and fascist Portuguese regime is persisting in its refusal to comply with the General Assembly's decision, it should be expelled from all UN bodies and specialized agencies. Such measures should also be taken against the racist minority regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia.

We think also that the liberation movements which are leading the struggle in each country should be present in the UN's specialized agencies. The vast areas under the control of the liberation movements should enjoy a status which would permit them bilateral contact and co-operation with independent countries, in the same way as exists for the developing countries of our continent. Indeed, there already exists a new national authority in the countries partially occupied by the Portuguese colonialists.

We would like also to propose to Your Excellencies, in connection with the commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the founding of the UN and of the 10th anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, that a special session of the General Assembly be devoted to the national liberation movements, in order that their legitimate representatives may address the representatives of all the world's peoples. And the UN, which has already recognized our right to independence, should now be able to grant us material aid as well.

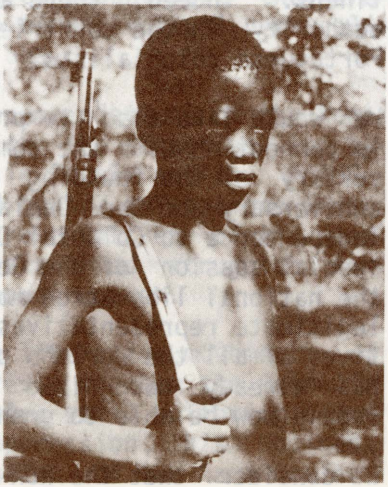
We consider that the non-aligned countries assembled

in this Conference - because they are concerned with the fate of our peoples - could also take a positive stand against the imperialist powers which are giving massive aid to the colonialist regimes of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia, the imperialist forces of the United States of America, Federal Germany,Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Japan and many other nations.

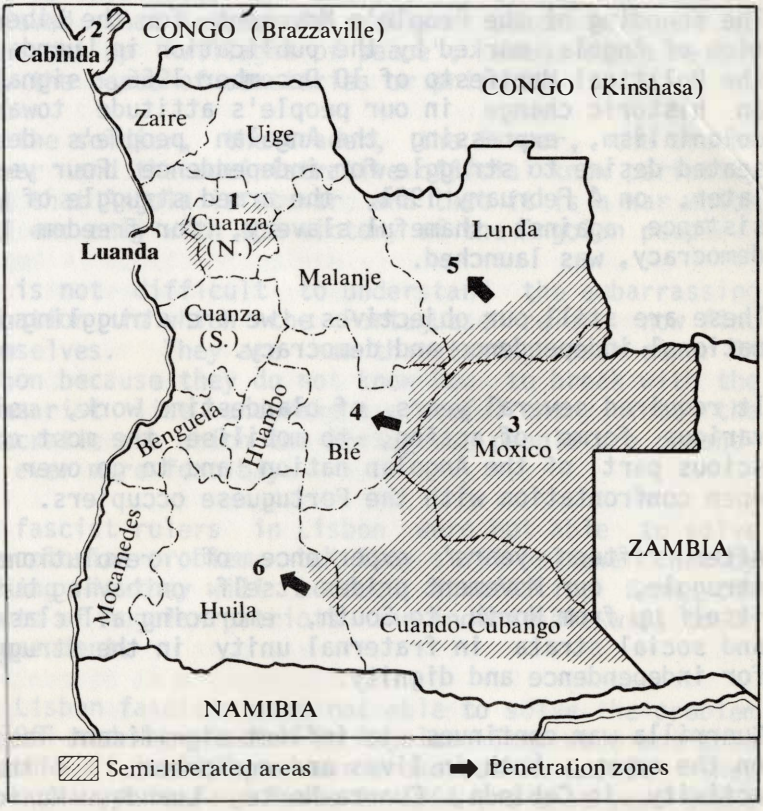
The non-aligned countries must make these countries recognize that it is thanks to their complicity that colonial domination is being maintained in Southern Africa; they must persuade them to change completely their attitude, already unanimously condemned by world opinion.

We should therefore like to suggest that this Conference support and accept on its own account the decision taken by the OAU to send delegations to countries which are giving their support to the colonialist and racist regimes of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia, in order to dissuade them from collaborating in the slaughter of our people.

On behalf of the Africa Liberation Movements, of which I have the honor to be the spokesman at this Conference, I express our heartiest thanks.



Commemorating the 15th Anniversary of MPLA



COMPATRIOTS! COMRADES!

Today our Movement is completing 15 years of life, a life of continuous action, of constant growth and victories.

Our People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola,the heroic vanguard of the fighting Angolan people, has been successfully leading the armed struggle for national liberation for more than ten years, winning for the Angolan people not only freedom in a part of our national territory, but also the respect and esteem of other peoples. We have established new and more just relations at the international level, affirming in a today uncontested way our political personality in the world, quite distinct from that of Portugal. We are and always shall be Angolans. Never Portuguese.

The founding of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, marked by the publication in Luanda of the Political Manifesto of 10 December 1956, signaled an historic change in our people's attitude towards colonialism, expressing the Angolan people's deep-seated desire to struggle for independence. Four years later, on 4 February 1961, the armed struggle of resistance against shameful slavery, for freedom and democracy, was launched.

These are still our objectives: we are struggling for national independence and democracy.

It required several years of clandestine work, using various forms of action, to mobilise the most conscious part of the Angolan nation and to go over to open confrontation with the Portuguese occupiers.

After fifteen years' experience of revolutionary struggle, our Movement prides itself on having built itself up from North to South, embracing all classes and social strata in fraternal unity in the struggle for independence and dignity.

Guerrilla war continues to inflict significant losses on the enemy, both in lives and equipment. Military activity in Cabinda, Cuanza-Norte, Luanda, Moxico,

Cuando-Cubango, Lunda and Bié is increasingly discouraging the colonialist generals, who think of themselves as great strategists - though they are in fact specialists in retreating. But their genocidal acts, cruelty and savagery cannot halt the advance of our Movement's military units in the field.

Since 1961, the enemy, Portuguese colonialism and some of its allies, have never ceased to shout in despair either that the war has ended or that the corpses carried away by helicopter are a consequence of operations by small groups infiltrated in from adjacent countries.

Even now, when cannon shells are destroying their barracks in the East and when they are being forced to withdraw their troops,the Portuguese generals continue just as insolently and shamelessly to try to have it believed that Angola is really at peace. They have even set up "villages of peace", where there reigns only the peace of cemeteries or prisons.

But the soldier, the trader, the farmer, the truck-driver and the administrative official know perfectly well that Angola is at war and that it is a war which will end only with the victory of the Angolan people.

It is not difficult to understand the embarrassing situation in which the Portuguese rulers now find themselves. They are now threatening each other in Lisbon because they do not know how to break with the Salazarist line and make a graceful entry into the democratic era which the Portuguese people are demanding ever more forcibly.

The fascist rulers in Lisbon were not able to solve the colonial problem, but they still believe that by evading it they will succeed in effacing from the hearts of Angolan patriots the indomitable will to be independent.

The Lisbon fascists were not able to solve the problem in 1961 and war started in Angola. They were not able to solve it in 1963 and war broke out in Guiné. They did not want to face facts in 1964 and that year armed

struggle began in Mozambique. Since 1928 the Portuguese fascists have failed to understand that the Portuguese people must be freed from PIDE oppression and misery in Portugal itself, and that the Portuguese people's present demand for an end to the colonial era must be met. And today they are confronting the violence of Armed Revolutionary Action.

Today they are having to fight on four fronts for only one reason - colonialism.

Such is the "peace" the colonialists and fascists talk about so much.

In our country the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola has gone from small to large, from weak to strong, and its strength will constantly grow.

The attention and prestige we have throughout the world today is great. This evolution is clear proof of the fact that, determined and firm, the Angolan people are invincible.

Therefore, the Portuguese government cannot ignore the Angolan people's will or the will of the Portuguese people. Both want an end to the colonial war and a solution which will satisfy our aspirations. In Angola we want the end of exploitation and oppression. We want Independence and Democracy.

Our political programme clearly indicates that the MPLA is opening the way to broad and genuine cooperation between men of different races. We are not against the white man simply because he is white. We are against racist and colonialist whites.

For us independence does not mean eliminating the white man from our country. It does not mean the appropriation of honestly acquired property. What it does mean is that political power must be in the hands of our people. Our country's economy must be controlled by our people and made to serve a free and progressive life.

There are now serious contradictions between the

settlers in Angola and the colonial administration. These contradictions will sharpen. They will be transformed into open conflict once the interests of the settlers are increasingly subordinated to the government's war policy.

But why this war? What is this war for? To mortgage Angola off to foreign countries? To make the farmer and trader pay more taxes? To oblige the landowner to maintain a military unit of soldiers who are mostly demoralised? To make it impossible for anyone to say what he thinks about the problems of his country without being bothered by the PIDE?

What is this war for? In the name of what is it being waged? Portugal's prestige? For the defence of the West? For economic reasons?

If it is none of these reasons, then what is this war for? Why murder Angolan people, old people, children and women, destroying crops with herbicides and committing the greatest atrocities?

Is it in order to hand Angola over to South Africa or the United States of America?

There is no way out of this situation apart from recognizing our people's right to Independence. Without such recognition, without the Portuguese government handing over power to the genuine representatives of the Angolan people, there will be no peace, no respite for any Portuguese in Angola.

It would be good if the settlers were to understand that it is not in their interests to throw themselves into the arms of South Africa, the United States, France or Federal Germany. In this event, they would be as colonised and exploited as us.

Their interests can only be protected through the establishment of just relations with the Angolan people, by their recognising that our desire for independence is just and by respecting our right to determine our own affairs. Today everyone is suffering because of the war, because of Lisbon's disastrous policy of re-

pression.

The armed forces of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola are increasing their capacity from day to day. Conscious of the situation we are now passing through, they will neither retreat nor be fooled by the fake "peace" the colonialists are offering in the villages.

We will not accept any kind of autonomy as a solution, nor the honorary titles on which some Portuguese rulers appear to be banking at present. No solution can be found for Angola without the concrete participation and agreement of the MPLA.

So long as shells have not yet started to explode in the big towns, so long as commercial firms, banks and vehicles have not started to blow up in the urban centres, so long as the soldier still knows where the rear is, this is the time to safeguard lives and property.

COMPATRIOTS, COMRADES,

With dedication and the spirit of self-sacrifice, MPLA militants are ever more effectively fighting the colonialist barbarian who has been exploiting us for centuries.

But we still have a long road to travel and we are prepared to endure a protracted war.

We have entered a new phase of our national liberation struggle.

We effectively control a vast part of our territory, where it is difficult for commandos or special troops to penetrate or operate on the ground. Whenever they try to leave their barracks, the enemy suffer heavy losses.

In the areas under our Movement's control we have organised our people's independent life, establishing simple forms of people's power and organising schools and medical care.

The colonialists' crime of using chemical agents on our crops has not lessened our production efforts.

Support from abroad is an important factor in our struggle. In recent years international support for our people's struggle has become increasingly broad-based. Practising an independent policy, our Movement is not subordinated to the policy of any other country or bloc of countries. Because of this line we are today able to maintain friendly relations with different countries in the world, both socialist and capitalist. One of the principles guiding our relations with other countries and political organisations is that each respect the other's independence and right to follow the road suited to the defence of the interests of their respective peoples.

Hence, maintaining friendly relations with the Soviet Union, China, Yugoslavia, Sweden or Holland does not mean that we mechanically follow the policy or ideology of any one of them, even if their experiences are useful to us. In any case, the campaign mounted by the enemy and their lackeys claiming that the MPLA is a communist organisation, sometimes linking it with the Soviet Union and at other times with China,can only be seen as propaganda intended to fool our people. What is certain is that Portugal is becoming increasingly isolated politically.

The MPLA is a progressive movement, for it is closely linked with the interests of the Angolan people, which it defends with vigor and courage, even demanding of its militants heroic sacrifices in armed combat. At the same time, the MPLA is authentically African in that it is defending the frontiers of freedom in Africa in close cooperation with other African peoples.

Yet the enemy are still in our country and are treacherously hatching intrigues, bribing or attempting to bribe neighbouring countries and manoeuvring politically to stay in Angola. For this reason, our fight must be continuous and increasingly vigorous.

All Angolans united, we must fight Portuguese colon-

ialism. We must deal it blows from all sides, and carry out ever more action. There can be no freedom without independence and no independence without struggle.

The proposals on autonomy are of no use to us. Modifications in the administrative structure and new methods of production and distribution of material goods are merely palliatives which solve nothing.

The promotion of Angolans to higher posts in the colonial administration, increased salaries and the introduction of higher education are merely consequences of the war. The enemy are trying to give the impression that they are introducing measures for the progress of our people. But these measures have been taken only because the enemy can feel the tips of our bayonets at their throats. That is all.

The rural reorganisation campaigns are intended merely to officer and control the Angolan people to prevent them from contacting the guerrillas.

Indeed, most of the colonialists' actions are governed by fear. Everything is done for propaganda purposes and to demobilise the people. For example, they open schools and universities, but they immediately persecute, arrest, deport and murder Angolan students who dare to enroll in these schools.

All this is comprehensible if we consider that since 1482 Portugal has never been interested in the progress of the Angolan people. What did interest it was stealing land and using our resources for itself. It was greed for material wealth that gave rise to colonialism.

How can a country like Portugal (where in a single night, according to the daily "O SECULO", they had to arrest more than 200 vagrants and prostitutes in Lisbon's Bairro Alto neighbourhood) be interested in the progress of the Angolan people?

How can a government which keeps its people in misery, in degrading subjugation, and which denies its citi-

zens the right to choose the kind of government they want, be concerned about the progress of the Angolan people?

COMPATRIOTS, COMRADES,

We must free ourselves from colonialism. All Angolans must unite around the MPLA. There are no hatreds between us which can make us forget the enemy. All those who feel the patriotic desire to liberate our country can join the MPLA,which will give them weapons and make fighters of them.

A few compatriots are allowing themselves to go along with reactionary and counter-revolutionary currents, which, subordinated to imperialism but under the cover of more or less progressive watchwords, are merely delaying our victory.

The MPLA is prepared to accept in its ranks all those who admit the mistakes they have made. They will be well received.

The 15 years of our Movement's activity have taught us to adopt a policy of clemency, even towards captured soldiers or those who come of their own free will to ask for the MPLA's protection. The MPLA will give those who leave the unjust war the necessary facilities to establish new conditions of life.

The people in the Angolan district of Cabinda have already realised the mistake they were about to make by accepting the Portuguese government's wily proposals. Alexandre Taty, Nzita Tiago and other traitors who still held illusions ruined themselves through their opportunism.

Now that they fully understand Portugal's objectives, all the people in Cabinda district must rise up to a man and organise themselves within the MPLA, arms in hand, to fight against the abuses, the corruption and the exploitation of the colonialists.

The MPLA has sufficient weapons to arm every man, it has an ideology and a policy for the liberation of the

country. It really is our people's only leading force.

COMRADES,

Let us strengthen our activity on every front. Let us organise new groups of the Movement and go into action, even without succeeding in making contact with the leadership of the MPLA.

Many MPLA groups paralyse their action for lack of contact with the leadership. They are eternally waiting for directives.

But it is easy to arrive at directives by analysing the concrete conditions on the spot. Political mobilisation, either through personal contact or through leaflets, contributions in money and kind for the guerrilla war and other higher forms of action are permanent directives which must be put into practice.

Everywhere action is needed. In the offices and in the factories, in the barracks and in the neighbourhoods, in the mines, in the villages and towns.

The road to our independence is being travelled over the blood of the most beloved sons of our people. The dedication and heroism of our militants is a decisive factor for the outcome of this struggle. And despite the machinations of the enemy,our people will triumph.

On this historic date when we are celebrating the 15th anniversary of the founding of our Movement, we are happy to affirm that there are no cannon, helicopters or defoliants capable of shaking our people's will. Colonialism will be defeated. An era of cooperation between all will be achieved.

OUR VICTORY IS CERTAIN

CREDITS

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Page 14 - from *CHINA RECONSTRUCTS*, Vol. XIX, No. 6, 1970
Page 21 - Map from *THE REVOLUTION IN ANGOLA: MPLA, Life Histories and Documents*, by Don Barnett & Roy Harvey. Bobbs-Merrill. 1972.
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